

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 7110

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PBOG, PEPR, CY, GR
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE FIVE-POWER INITIATIVE ON CYPRUS

1. REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO WILL NOT LAD TO ANY EARLY ALTERATION OF THE GREEK ATTITUDE TOWARD CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. IN OUR VIEW THE GOG WILL RESIST BECOMING ACTIVELY INVOLVED AND CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS AND NOT THE GOG HAS PRCCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THE GOG WILL REMAIN OPPOSED TO ANY INITIATIVE, BY THE U.S. ALONE OR IN COOPERATION WITH OTHERS, WHICH BEARS THE APPEARANCE OF REPLACING THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL AS THE PRINCIPAL INTERMEDIARY. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WILL EXPECT THE U.S. TO EXERT ITS INFLUENCE ON THE GOT TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE AND FORTHCOMING.

2. THE ABOVE ASSESSMENT WAS CONFIRMED TO US AUGUST 16 WHEN THE MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, AMBASSADOR TZOUNIS, CALLED IN THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR TO GIVE HIM GOG VIEWS. OBVIOUSLY AS A RESULT OF A MISUNDERSTANDING OF REMARKS WE HAD MADE TO
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FOREIGN MINISTER RALLIS LAST WEEK (ATHENS 6887 - NOTAL), THESE VIEWS WERE ADDRESSED TO A PRESUMED U.S. EFFORT TO ACT AS MEDIATOR ON CYPRUS. (THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR MADE IT CLEAR TO TZOUNIS THAT THIS WAS NOT THE U.S. INTENTION AND THAT THE USG HAD NOT FORMULATED A SPECIFIC PLAN OR SET OF PROPOSALS. ATH THIS STAGE, HE EMPHASIZED, IT WAS SIMPLY CONSIDERING WHAT IT MIGHT DO TO BE HELPFUL IN LIGHT OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S COMMITMENT AND CONGRESSIONAL

ADMONITION. FURTHER, THAT WASHINGTON WAS MAINTAINING PERSONAL CONTACT WITH THE UNSYG.)

3. TZOUNIS STATED THAT IT WAS THE GOG'S CONSIDERED JUDGMENT THAT THE USG SHOULD NOT UNDERTAKE ANY EFFORT AT MEDIATION IN ITS OWN NAME SINCE THIS WOULD EAVE THE IMPRESSION OF BYPASSING UNSYG WALDHEIM IN HIS EFFORTS WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS. HE STRESSED THAT IN THE GOG VIEW ANY INITIATIVE MUST COME FROM WALDHEIM WITH THE USG PLAYING A "RARALLEL ROLE" IN SUPPORT OF THOSE EFFORTS BY USING ITS INFLUENCE IN ANKARA. MOREOVER, HE SAID, IT WAS THE GOG VIEW THAT THE USG SHOULD SUBMIT ANY PROPOSALS OR IDEAS IT HAS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS WHICH HAS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY. THE GOG WOULD APPRECIATE THE USG'S WILLINGNESS TO KEEP THE GOG INFORMED ABOUT ITS CONTACTS WITH THE GOC, HE ADDED.

4. THE GOG RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT ANY OBLIGATION FOR NEGOTIATIONS OVER CYPRUS DATES BACK TO THE LONDON-ZURICH AGREEMENTS. KARAMANLIS DOES NOT WANT TO BE SADDLED AGAIN WITH THE KIND OF ONUS HE ASSUMED THEN. ONCE BURNED, HE FEELS TWICE SHY. IN ADDITION, UNLIKE THE SITUATION AT THAT TIME, CYPRUS NOW HAS AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT AND ATHENS FEELS IT CANNOT TRY TO CALL THE TUNE WITHOUT RUNNING THE RISK OF BUYING SOME BLAME AND CRITICISM ON THE ISLAND AND AT HOME IN THE EVENT IT TRIES TO IMPOSE ITS WILL DURING NEGOTIATIONS. THE GOG HAS TAKEN THE POSITION CONSISTENTLY SINCE KARAMANLIS' RETURN TO POWER IN 1974 THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS BEARS THE OBLIGATION FOR FINDING A SOLUTION
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AND THE ATHENS ROLE IS ONE OF SUPPORT AND SOLIARITY. THIS POSITION HAS HAD THE FULL AND GENERAL SUPPORT OF ALL GREEK POLITICAL FACTIONS AND ANY INDICATION THAT THE GOG WAS CHANGING ITS POSITION WOULD RESULT IN A MAJOR OUTBURST HERE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY NOW, THE GOG FEELS STRONGLY THAT THE NEXT MOVE ON CYPRUS IS UP TO TURKEY AND THAT THE U.S. MUST NOW DELIVER ON ITS STATEMENTS OF EXPECTATION THAT THE TURKS WOULD BE MORE FLEXIBLE AND MORE FORTHCOMING WITH THE EMBARGO OUT OF THE WAY.

5. INVOLVING THE GOG MORE ACTIVELY IN THE SEARCH FOR A CYPRUS SOLUTION WILL BE NO EASIER NOW THAN IT WAS EARLIER. WE EXPECT THAT KARAMANLIS ON HIS OWN WILL CONTINUE TO EXERT A MODERATING INFLUENCE ON KYPRIANOU PRIVATELY WHEN NECESSARY (E.G., IN CONNECTION WITH THE RECENT VAROSHA PROPOSALS) AND DO NOT EXCLUDE THAT IT MAY BE POSSIBLE, EVENTUALLY, TO GET HIM MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVED. HOWEVER, THIS WILL REQUIRE CAREFUL AND PATIENT HANDLING AND WILL DEPEND ON THE NATURE AND SPECIFICS OF PROPOSALS AND PROCEDURES WE CONCEIVE UNILATERALLY OR IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER ALLIES. A POSSIBLE FIVE-POWER APPROACH COULD BE HELPFUL IN THIS RESPECT, ESPECIALLY IF IT HAS THE FULL COOPERATION AND SUPPORT OF THE FRENCH AND IS BLESSED BY THE UN. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS IT

IS KARAMANLIS WHO WILL HAVE TO BE CONVINCED THAT IT IS IN THE GREEK INTEREST TO BE MORE ACTIVELY INVOLVED AND IN THIS THE DIRECT INTERCESSION OF PRESIDENT GISCARD AT SOME POINT COULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT IMPACT. BEFORE WE REACH THAT STAGE AND AT AN EARLY DATE WE BELIEVE THAT WE WILL HAVE TO SPEAK FRANKLY TO THE GREEKS ABOUT OUR INTENTIONS AND OUR PLANS FOR A MORE ACTIVE U.S. ROLE, ALWAYS KEEPING IN MIND THAT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOG, AS IN THE CASE OF THE GOC, ANY SUCH U.S. ROLE MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH THE EFFORTS OF THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL. ONCE THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ARE FORMULATED WE WOULD LIKE INSTRUCTIONS TO DISCUSS THEM WITH THE GOG.

MCCLOSKEY

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